A REPLY

TO THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE'S

'POLITICAL EXPOSTULATION.'

BY THE RIGHT REV.

MONSIGNOR CAPEL, D. D.

REPRINTED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM 'THE WEEKLY REGISTER AND CATHOLIC STANDARD.'

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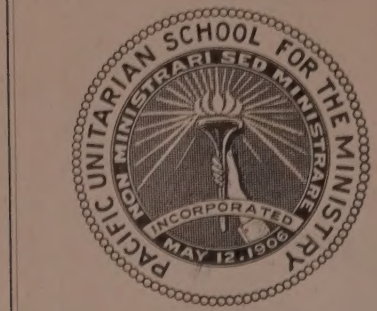

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THE GIFT OF

CHARLES WILLIAM WENDTE

OF BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

DECREES

ON

GIANCE:

TULATION.

GLADSTONE, M. P.

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PREFACE.

The following Reply to Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet is reprinted from the 'Weekly Register and Catholic Standard,' with additions which seemed necessary in order to make it more complete, and to meet more explicitly some of the principal questions raised in the course of the present discussion.

The resemblance which exists between Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet and Dr. Schulte's work on 'The Power of the Roman Pontiffs over Sovereigns, Countries, Nations, and Individuals,' &c., has enabled the author to make considerable use of the valuable work of Mgr. Fessler, Secretary-General of the Vatican Council, written in answer to Dr. Schulte, and entitled 'True and False Infallibility.'

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A REPLY, ETC.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE circumstances that preceded Mr. Gladstone's recent attack on the Catholic Church are well worthy of attention. A cry had been raised against the Ritualists. They were accused, not merely of introducing novelties in the matter of vestments, but also of attempting to familiarise their congregations with Catholic doctrines. The Ritualists saw that if they could induce Mr. Gladstone to come forward and defend their cause a great point would be gained. The right hon. gentleman, knowing what a forlorn hope it would be to recommend Ritualism to the great mass of the English nation, and having perceived how singularly his essay in the 'Contemporary Review' had failed to satisfy any one, adopted the policy of protecting his own Church party by directing popular attention towards Catholics. His tactics have so far succeeded. The Ritualists were in trouble; nor is it unlikely that they will still have to fight out their own battle without causing any serious manifestation of hostility against Catholicism. Raising a new issue, however, is sometimes an excellent mode of evading an urgent enquiry, and such strategy is often resorted to both by the well-intentioned and the malicious. St. Paul raised the question of his Roman citizenship in a critical emergency; Allantopoles, in the 'Knights' of Aristophanes, diverted the attention of

the Council from the misrepresentations of Cleon by informing them of the cheapness of anchovies. Mr. Gladstone, in like manner, failing to defend the Ritualists, abuses the Catholic Church.

It is curious that, in the course of his pamphlet, he should give us at least half-a-dozen good reasons why it never ought to have been written. Before we proceed to meet the different charges which he has made, we will lay these reasons briefly before our readers.

1. Mr. Gladstone comes forward as the representative of the Liberal party, whose principle of liberty of conscience we ever imagined to imply that every man had a right to hold his own convictions, provided only that he submitted to the laws of the country.

Catholics are, by his own avowal, as loyal as he or any other of her Majesty's subjects. By what right, then, does he assume the inquisitorial office of calling on us to explain how far our well-known obedience and loyalty are in accordance with the dictates of our own consciences? Surely, if a man's outward conduct be blameless, his motives are, on liberal principles, to rest between himself and his God.

2. In the very beginning of his attack on Catholics, Mr. Gladstone admits their loyalty as an established and well-known fact. 'The people of this country,' he says, 'fully believe in their loyalty.' The same testimony is repeated in different parts of his work.

Why, then, in the face of an admission like this, are Catholics to be subjected to the deliberate and wanton insult of having their principles called in question? What more does he require of them but that they should render a loyal allegiance to the powers that be?

3. Not only does Mr. Gladstone believe that Catholics are loyal subjects, but he also holds that it is impossible to Romanize the Church and people of England. He believes that 'at no time since the bloody reign of Mary had such a scheme been possible.' He believes that if it had been pos-

sible in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, it would now in the nineteenth have become impossible.

If these are Mr. Gladstone's convictions, why, we again ask, attack and insult those from whom he fears nothing, and whose power he believes to be a thing of the past?

4. Again, even admitting Catholics to be capable of disloyalty and rebellion, Mr. Gladstone is persuaded that 'if the worst come to the worst, this country will have alike the powers and, in case of need, the will to control their follies."

Why, then, raise this tempest? It seems a useless expenditure of the ex-minister's polemical energy.

5. Mr. Gladstone informs the world that 'it has been a favorite purpose of his life not to conjure up, but to conjure down, public alarms. He is not now going to pretend that either foreign foe or domestic treason can, at the bidding of the Court of Rome, disturb these peaceful shores;' and yet he brings before the mass of his countrymen hypothetical cases in which, as he imagines, the conscientious convictions of Catholics might be inconvenient or dangerous to the State.

6. Mr. Gladstone does not intend to make any change in the policy which he has pursued towards Catholics. He 'regrets nothing, he recants nothing.' He declares his intention of being 'guided hereafter, as heretofore, by the rule of maintaining equal civil rights irrespectively of religious differences, and of resisting all attempts to exclude the members of the Roman Church from the benefits of that rule.'

How, we may ask, can Mr. Gladstone reconcile this course to his conscience? If he really be convinced that the principles which are binding on the conscience of every Catholic are so utterly opposed to the welfare of the country, is it not his manifest duty to do everything in his power to subvert the Catholic religion, in which he fails to recognise any Divine authority? Does not a policy of repression, of persecution, become his duty? Would not a

re-enactment of the penal laws be the logical consequence of his opinions? As, however, he does not purpose doing this, we can only conclude that his political expostulation is but dealing with a phantom.

7. Mr. Gladstone asserts that it is morally impossible that questions such as these can be adequately examined by the mass of mankind; and yet he publishes a pamphlet at sixpence with apparently the very object of appealing to the masses.

Having noticed these very good reasons Mr. Gladstone has given against ever writing this pamphlet, we must make one observation on the very title which he has prefixed to it. He has called it 'The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance.' Thousands of his readers may never have the opportunity of examining the 'Vatican Decrees;' and it is well to inform them that those Decrees treat of God the Creator, of Revelation, of Faith, of Faith and Reason, of the Institution, the Perpetuity, the Power and Nature of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and the Infallible Teaching of the Roman Pontiff; but of civil allegiance and the relations of Church to State not a word either directly or indirectly is said. Is it, then, fair to mislead the public by a title which gives the impression that civil allegiance is the very staple of those decrees?

Mr. Gladstone does not aim at converting us. His pamphlet will certainly have little weight among Catholics; but we ask what is his aim? To make men bad Catholics; to entreat (p. 11) us to replace ourselves in the position we occupied forty-five years ago, though at the same time he holds that position to have been altered by an authority which he asserts to be binding under the strongest sanctions on *our* consciences.

If he tried to convert, there would be a certain fairness in it. Are people who are *untrue* to their own principles likely to prove the most loyal subjects or the best members of society?

Mr. Gladstone's recent article on Ritualism was deemed by all parties most unsatisfactory, because it completely evaded the questions of doctrine which are at the root of the subject, and which alone give it importance. In a similar manner he professes to eschew theological controversy in dealing with the relations of civil and spiritual allegiance, a matter so essentially connected with theology that it can have no meaning if that element be eliminated.

The remonstrances which were evoked by the article in the 'Contemporary Review' suggested a second and larger edition of his opinions. But, instead of being pacific, it is much more warlike than the first. While crying 'Peace, peace!' he prepares for the battle, and spends his force mainly against converts, though while in office he viewed them as no unworthy associates in his administration. This is one of those laudable instances in which a man's practice is better than his theory. At every page of the pamphlet the reader will be reminded of Cardinal Wiseman's happy illustration of a person looking at a stained-glass window from without. He sees nothing but confusion, while those inside regard it as a thing of beauty, and a brilliant evidence of the artist's genius.

II.

RITUALISM.

As Ritualism has been used for the purpose of delivering this philippic against us, we may dispose of our relation to it in a short paragraph, and then direct attention to the main question which has been raised. The essay in the 'Contemporary Review' says that Ritualism 'signifies such a kind and such a manner of undue disposition to ritual, as indicate a design to alter at least the ceremonial of religion established in and by this nation, for the purpose of assimilating

it to the Roman or Popish ceremonial; and further, of introducing the Roman or Papal religion into this country, under the insidious form and silent but steady suasion of its ceremonial.' If by these words the right hon. gentleman wishes to imply that there are any persons in the Ritualistic body intentionally moving towards the See of Rome, we wish distinctly to state that such an impression is altogether groundless. Well-known leaders, such as Dr. Pusey, Dr. Liddon, and Mr. Mackonochie, have explicitly stated the contrary. Any intention of working for this end is alien to the whole spirit of the Ritualistic clergy, who profess only to Catholicise the Church of England. On the other hand, if we look not to intentions, but to facts, then are we obliged to declare that, beyond doubt, these men are unintentionally, but not the less assuredly, disseminating several doctrines of the Roman Church. Our books of piety are in their hands; with our devotions and practices they are becoming familiarised; our doctrines of the Incarnation, the Real Presence, of the need of absolution, and of reverence for the Saints, are now to them household thoughts. In towns the most populous, and hamlets the most secluded, are to be found those who hold many of the truths of the Roman Church and daily follow her practices. We may even add that the principle of sacerdotal authority is being gradually spread among them. Any one brought in contact with the Ritualistic movement is familiar with the fact, that while the leaders exercise to the utmost their own private judgment, they insist on their followers accepting unchallenged their word, and exact an obedience the like of which is unknown in the Catholic Church.

Yet in all this it would be a grave error to imagine that, because many of them do hold our doctrines, they are therefore one with us. A deep abyss separates us. They are still insular, while we are universal. The *object* of their belief is oftentimes the same as that of ours, but the *motive* of that belief is fundamentally different. We believe on the Divine

authority of the living Church of God; their belief rests on private judgment; thus remaining as truly Protestant as that of the lowest Churchman. Their work, however, is a real and substantial one. They rightly administer the sacrament of Baptism, and therefore add to the numbers of the true Church. They impress their followers with the need of a life of piety, and so prepare souls for the reception of grace. They teach more accurately than did their predecessors the doctrines of the Incarnation, of Justification, and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and consequently lead men to the portal of God's Church. The intellect is thus familiarised with the truths of Revelation, and prepared to examine the evidences on which these rest. The inherent power of these truths cannot do otherwise than produce fruit; and our experience bears witness to the fact that a steady and ever-increasing current has set in from the Ritualistic party to the Catholic Church. The Church of England is becoming gradually leavened with Catholic doctrine, and it appears to us, as outsiders, that, let the Legislature take what precautions it may, the present movement towards the Catholic Church cannot be stayed.

Mr. Gladstone, whose knowledge of England is worthy of all attention, however, thinks differently; he believes that at 'no time since the bloody reign of Mary has such a scheme as that of Romanizing the Church and people of England been possible; that if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth.' Why, then, does he fling down this firebrand? Why endeavor to excite popular prejudice and ill-will against a large body of his fellow-countrymen from whom he fears nothing?

III.

GROWTH OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND.

THERE is a singular bitterness in Mr. Gladstone's manner of speaking of converts. In the paragraph from the 'Contemporary Review,' which forms the text of the present pamphlet, we are told that 'no one can become Rome's convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.' This statement is, indeed, in some degree modified in the pamphlet; at page 24 we read, 'Upon a strict re-examination of the language, as apart from the substance of my fourth (he means third) proposition, I find it faulty, inasmuch as it seems to imply that a "convert" now joining the Papal Church, not only gives up certain rights and duties of freedom, but surrenders them by a conscious and deliberate act. What I have less accurately said that he renounced, I might have more accurately said that he forfeited. To speak strictly, the claim now made upon him by the authority, which he solemnly and with the highest responsibility acknowledges, requires him to surrender his mental and moral freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another.' In this same spirit of depreciation he says, 'It is certainly a political misfortune that during the last thirty years a Church so tainted in its views of civil obedience, and so unduly capable of changing its front and language after emancipation from what it had been before, like an actor who has to perform several characters in one piece, should have acquired an extension of its hold upon the highest classes of this country. The conquests have been chiefly, as might have been expected, among women; but the number of male converts, or captives (as I might prefer to call them), has not been inconsiderable. There is no doubt that every one of these secessions is in the nature of a considerable moral and social

severance. The breadth of this gap varies according to varieties of individual character. But it is too commonly a wide one.' He expresses his belief that the convert intends, 'in case of any conflict between the Queen and the Pope, to follow the Pope, and let the Queen shift for herself.'

Finally, he endeavors to prove that the movement which is bringing so many souls into God's Church chiefly affects the higher classes of society; and this statement is the ground of an insinuation that, while 'the original Gospel was supposed to be meant especially for the poor, the Gospel of the nineteenth century from Rome courts another and less modest destination. If,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'the Pope does not control more souls among us, he certainly controls more acres.'

1. What are we to think of all this? Among the numerous converts to whom he alludes, are there not some who were personally known to him, some whose moral and mental qualities were in their Protestant days such as to warrant the belief that they were incapable of surrendering, in Mr. Gladstone's sense of the word, that mental and moral freedom which is so dear to all men? some to whom he must feel that the word 'captives' cannot with any justice be applied, unless indeed in the sense in which St. Paul speaks of 'bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ?' We know that the Protestantism of England is intense; that by the side of that great stream which is bearing men to the Church, there is another stream which is carrying its thousands towards Rationalism, which is leading them to reject Revelation and authority in religion, to throw aside everything that, to their mind, savours of sacerdotal power. Mr. Gladstone knows all this, and, with the astuteness of a skilful politician, he appeals to the Protestantism of the country. Among the men who have been received into the Catholic Church during Mr. Gladstone's lifetime, there is one whose name is known and honored by Englishmen of all shades of belief, one who holds an in-

tellectual position higher than that of almost any other living man. Father Newman says, 'I was not conscious to myself on my conversion of any change, intellectual or moral, wrought in my mind;' and elsewhere, 'The truth is that the world, knowing nothing of the blessings of the Catholic faith, and prophesying nothing but ill concerning it, fancies that a convert, after the first fervor is over, feels nothing but disappointment, wearisomeness, and offence in his new religion, and is secretly desirous of retracing his steps. This is at the root of the alarm and irritation which it manifests at hearing that doubts are incompatible with a Catholic's profession, because it is sure that doubts will come upon him, and then how pitiable will be his state! That there can be peace and joy, and knowledge and freedom, and spiritual strength in the Church, is a thought far beyond its imagination; for it regards her simply as a frightful conspiracy against the happiness of man, seducing her victims by specious professions, and, when they are once hers, caring nothing for the misery which breaks upon them, so that by any means she may detain them in bondage. Accordingly, it conceives we are in perpetual warfare with our own reason.'

Such were the words used by Father Newman at a comparatively early period after his conversion. After twenty-five years' experience of the Catholic Church, he wrote as follows: 'I have not had a moment's wavering of trust in the Catholic Church ever since I was received into her fold. I hold, and ever have held, that her Sovereign Pontiff is the centre of unity, and the Vicar of Christ. And I ever have had, and have still, an unclouded faith in her Creed in all its articles; a supreme satisfaction in her worship, discipline, and teaching; and an eager longing and a hope against hope, that the many dear friends whom I have left in Protestantism may be partakers in my happiness.'[1]

Another convert, who, alas! has since fallen away, had

[1] April 11, 1870; letter in *Standard*.

enjoyed ample opportunities of judging by personal experience of Protestantism before he gave to the world the result of four years' experience of the Catholic religion. 'If I may state the truth,' he writes, 'without fear of being counted guilty of ridiculous exaggeration, I should reply that no man knows what perfect intellectual freedom is until he becomes a member of the Church of Rome. I have passed my whole life in as bold and unhesitating an exercise of the privileges of thought as is ventured upon by most persons; but most conscientiously can I allege that my previous independence in reasoning was like a toiling in fetters compared with the unbounded liberty of which I have been conscious ever since I ceased to be a Protestant.'[1] And again: 'I came, forced by my convictions and almost against my will, into this mighty community, whose embrace I had all my life dreaded as something paralysing, shaving, and torturing. No sooner, however, could I look around me and mark what presented itself to my eyes, than I saw I was in a world where all was as satisfying as it was new. For the first time I met with a body of men and women who could talk and act as Christians without cant, without restraint, without formality, without hypocrisy. . . . I found myself in the midst of a race with whom Christianity was not a rule, but a principle, not a restraint, but a second nature, not a bondage, but a freedom in which it had precisely that effect which it claims to produce upon man. . . . And now, when so long a period has elapsed since my first submission to the Church that everything like a sense of novelty has long passed away, and I have tasted experimentally the value of all that she has to offer. . . . the more profound is my sense of her Divine origin, of the Divine power which resides in her, and of the boundless variety and perfections of the blessings she has to bestow.' In the next chapter of his 'Four Years' Experience,' the same writer says: 'The thraldom of Protestantism I believe to be pre-

[1] *Four Years' Experience of the Catholic Religion*, p. 8.

cisely parallel to that political, social, and personal servitude which is the bane of those countries where license rules instead of law. It is just that real bondage which often exists in nations where the ultra-democratic principle reigns triumphant; where, *in theory*, every man is so free as to be the servant of none; and in practice is in an abject slavery to a despotic majority; or to a minority reckless of all consequence. The Protestant, in like manner, is free from all spiritual restraint, whether moral or intellectual, so far as a theory can set him free; but the moment an impartial observer examines into his practical condition, the very same monstrous anomalies appear, which strike us with mingled pity and indignation, in those countries where anarchy rules by the sacred name of Liberty. The Catholic is under the rule of a law which permits to the individual judgment the utmost possible amount of freedom which is consistent with a fulfilment of the ends of human existence; the Protestant, vainly hugging himself in the thought that no restraint whatsoever is put upon his intelligence, vibrates incessantly between a state of anarchy and a state of despotism. Seeking to serve none, he is a slave to all; seeking to be at liberty to discern the truth wheresoever it is to be found, he wanders on and never finds it. The only privilege he enjoys is the privilege of intellectual suicide; the only power in which he is not controlled is the power of deceiving himself, and of doing evil.'[1]

Again: 'So far from feeling as if I had renounced the great privileges of humanity, and subjugated myself to a debasing servitude, I was conscious that now, for the first time, my faculties had fair play, that I was no longer in bondage to shams, forms of speech, pious frauds, exploded fables, youthful prejudices, or the impudent fabrications of baseless authority. Reason, like a young eagle for the first time floating forth from its mountain nest, and trusting itself with no faltering wing to the boundless ex-

[1] *Four Years' Experience of the Catholic Religion*, p. 96.

panse of ether around, above, and below, rejoiced in her new-found powers, and looked abroad upon the mighty universe of material and immaterial being, with that unflinching gaze with which the soul dares to look, when conscious that the God who made her has at length set her free.' [1]

We might cite numerous testimonies of this kind from converts in our own country and abroad. Such testimonies are, perhaps, worthy to have some weight against the vague theories of Mr. Gladstone's imagination. Of the political aspect of the Catholic religion we do not here speak, as Mr. Gladstone's accusations on this head are answered in another portion of this pamphlet.

2. We turn, then, to his statements regarding converts and the proportion borne by Catholics to the population of England. The converts are, 'as might have been expected,' chiefly women. The tone of depreciation in which this remark is made may perhaps excite a feeling of indignation, even amongst some of those who are no supporters of the new ideas of 'woman's rights'; for, after all, have not women souls to save? Were they not redeemed as well as men? Have they not an intelligence similar to that of man? Are they not, on the Protestant theory, bound as fully as are men to exercise the sacred right of private judgment? But the converts are, we are told, mostly women, and mostly from the higher classes of society.

Mr. Gladstone, however, admits that the number of 'male converts or captives' is by no means inconsiderable. Here we quite agree with him; and in support of his admission may mention the fact that about forty of our London Catholic clergy were formerly Protestants. Judging by the usual proportion of clergy to laity, with all due allowance for the fervor which leads many converts to wish to devote themselves in a special manner to the service of God, this number must, in fairness, be taken as representing

[1] *Four Years' Experience of the Catholic Religion.* p. 10.

a large body of men who, although they have submitted to the Church, have had neither the will nor the power to become her ministers. The intellectual position and the probable influence of the men who have been received may be gathered from the following facts: The Archbishop of Westminster, the venerated head of the English Hierarchy, is a convert; many important parishes, such as, for instance, St. John's, Islington, and The Assumption, Warwick Street, are under the charge of convert priests; the greater proportion of the clergy of St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater, and of the Brompton Oratory, and many of the Jesuit Fathers, are converts; among the eminent Professors of the Catholic University College, Kensington, five are converts, and so are the heads of Stonyhurst, Oscott, St. Edmund's, Edgbaston, St. Charles's, Bayswater, and the Catholic Public School, Kensington; as are likewise the editors of the 'Dublin Review,' the 'Month,' the 'Tablet,' the 'Illustrated Catholic Magazine,' and 'Catholic Opinion.'

The high position in the literary and scientific world of Newman, St. George Mivart, Proctor, Aubrey de Vere, Paley, Morris, Coleridge, Ward, and many other converts, is well known.

Mr. Gladstone states not only that the converts are mostly women, but that they are mostly from the higher classes of society. The second statement, like the first, is one of statistics, and while we have not at command the figures which would enable us to show the extent of Mr. Gladstone's error, we have, nevertheless, from personal experience, reason to doubt his accuracy. It is the good or evil fortune of those who occupy a certain position in society to have all their doings made known to the world; but among the at least 2,000 persons who are received every year into the Church in England, perhaps not more than a dozen are ever heard of beyond the sphere of their own immediate families and friends. Canon Oakley's large experience leads him to the conclusion

that the wealthy converts are to the poor in the proportion of one to a hundred. The mass of our converts are comparatively obscure; they are dear to God and to His Church, but the world knows nothing of them. They have no 'acres' to offer to the Pope—nothing but the mite of the poor and the loyalty and devotion of true hearts.

3. The insinuation that the Catholic Church neglects the poor comes indeed with little grace from the pen of a member of the Established Church of England, a Church which, with all the advantages at its disposal, has proved itself incapable of retaining a hold on the lower and middle classes of society. Is Mr. Gladstone not aware that Protestants of these classes in England are almost universally Dissenters? that the Church of England does not in the great centres of population even provide them with the necessary accommodation if they should wish to attend its service? While we say this of the Church of England generally, we gladly admit the fact that, in the care of the poor, as well as in many other points, the Ritualistic body are closely following Catholic example.

But to return to the relations of the Catholic Church to the poor. Mr. Gladstone surely knows that in Ireland, while Protestantism is the religion of the majority of the landed proprietors, the mass of the people are Catholic; that Irish Catholics seem to enjoy a special place in the regard and affection of the Holy Father; he must know that of a quarter of a million to 300,000 Catholics to be found in London, by far the greater number are poor; that amongst these poor our clergy and our religious orders are laboring with unwearied devotion; that Catholics have spared no efforts to provide for the instruction of the children of the poor; and that the aged and infirm are cherished with all the tenderness which Christian Charity inspires by the Little Sisters of the Poor and other orders. If Mr. Gladstone is not aware of these facts, he is scarcely com-

petent to give us information on the subject; if he is, we can hardly imagine how he can have allowed an insinuation so injurious to escape from his pen.

4. The marriage statistics, which Mr. Gladstone takes as a test of the increase or decrease of the Catholic religion in this country, are, perhaps, hardly fitted to guide us to a correct conclusion. The element of Irish immigration is a very important one in calculations of this kind; it is well known that during the years between 1854 and 1871 immigration very notably lessened, and it is quite possible, therefore, that there may be an actual increase of the proportion of the Catholic English population to the Protestant, even though the marriage rate is lower. We do not, however, profess to know exactly how the proportions stand; some priests of experience among us are of opinion that, taking one thing with another, our numerical gain is not considerable. Be this as it may, there can be no question that the work of the Church is making immense and solid progress in England; the Catholic population is concentrating itself in towns and busy centres of activity; the hierarchical and parochial organisations are being completed; many new churches have been built; the Church has been able to carry out her offices with becoming pomp; religious houses have been established; means of education have been provided for our poor children, so that our poor schools are now, as regards mere secular standing, nearly on a par with those of our wealthier Protestant fellow-countrymen; and three important training colleges are in operation. The work of higher education has been fairly taken in hand, and we may reasonably hope that our young men of the upper classes will soon be in a position to hold their own in the intellectual sphere with those who are reaping the benefits bequeathed by our forefathers in the old foundations of Catholic faith and piety.

5. But the growth and power of the Catholic Church in England are not fully represented even by all these ex-

ternal and tangible signs. There is an influence at work, a gradual but mighty influence, whose value and force it is impossible to estimate. Notwithstanding the Protestantism of England, which from time to time finds such strong and bitter expression, there is an interest awakened in the faith and doings of the Catholic Church. There is a spirit of inquiry abroad. Our literature constantly brings the Church, in one or other of its aspects, before men's minds; the records of the past are studied; Catholic art and architecture are revived; our very works of fiction, our operas and dramas, deal with subjects connected with the Catholic religion; there is less ignorence, less bigotry. Personal contact with Catholics, at home and abroad, has done and is doing much to dispel prejudice; and the High Church clergy in the Anglican Communion are doing much. It is true that they are opposing and even assailing their true Mother; but at the same time they are imbuing the minds of many with those very doctrines of the Catholic faith which their forefathers rejected; they are making them accustomed to the idea of the Sacraments, of definite truth, and of a life of devotion.

The Spirit of God is at work in our midst. All these things indicate growth and progress. They seem to show that the hold of the Catholic Church on the country is becoming stronger and firmer; that God, in His great mercy, is again offering to our countrymen that great gift of the true faith which was cruelly rent from them 300 years ago. Mr. Gladstone's desire is no doubt father to the statements that 'the conquests have been chiefly among women,' and that the number of Catholics has decreased; we do not accept his statements, but if such be his view of the case, if he has no apprehension of a general diffusion of the principles which he professes to consider so dangerous, why, we again ask, was this unprovoked attack made upon a large and peaceable body of his fellow-countrymen?

IV.

INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE.[1]

THOUGH a blow is dealt us through the Ritualists, and a severe judgment passed on the converts in Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, yet the head and front of our offending is that, according to him, ever since 1870 we have accepted the Infallibility of the Pope. This wonderful 'change in the constitution of the Latin Church' sorely distresses the author, and leads him to say that Rome 'has substituted for the proud boast of *Semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith.' Yet, as though forgetful of what he had just written, he immediately proceeds to the contradictory assertion that the Church 'has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool which she was fondly thought to have disused.' With the definite accusation of the adoption of a policy of 'violence and change in faith' and in 'the constitution of the Latin Church' we will proceed to deal.

1. It is to be remembered that, previous to the assembling of the Vatican Council in 1869, every Catholic was bound to believe:

(*a*) That the gift of Infallibility permanently belongs to the Church of God, whose Head is the Pope;

(*b*) That the gift of Infallibility is bestowed on the Church to enable her to be an unerring Witness to Revelation, an unerring Judge of its sense, and an unerring Teacher of the doctrine of Christ;

(*c*) That the organ of the Infallibility is the teaching body of the Church, *i. e.* the Bishops, either assembled in Council, or dispersed throughout the world, but in each case united to the Pope, the Supreme Pastor of the Church;

[1] In this chapter very considerable use has been made of Mgr. Fessler's admirable work on *True and False Infallibility*.

(*d*) That the Infallibility extends to all questions of faith and morals.

Every Catholic further knew and held that the belief *ex animo* in all decisions, past, present, and future, of the Church was the primary and necessary condition for communion with her. Until she spoke the children of the Church had a perfect right to discuss questions; subject, however, to the condition that unreserved submission of mind and heart was to be rendered to what she might ultimately decide. For the conscience of Catholics accepts the doctrine of an authoritative and infallible Church, which afterwards amply repays this adhesion of conscience by guiding it aright on future occasions; just as the value of the syllogism is first ascertained subjectively, and that instrument of reasoning is afterwards used without further proof, though the evidence of its truth and use may be forgotten.

2. On June 29, 1869, all the Bishops of the whole Catholic world were convoked. On December 8, 1869, the Council of the Vatican was solemnly opened, and from that day till its suspension, June 18, 1870, no less than 704 Bishops took part in its discussions. Each one of these could say, in the words of Father Newman: "I have a firm belief, and have had all along, that a Greater Power than that of any man or of any set of men will overrule the deliberations of the Council to the determination of Catholic and Apostolic truth, and that what its Fathers eventually proclaim with one voice *will be the Word of God*.[1]

After lengthened discussion, the Council, in its fourth public session, solemnly declared:—

'We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: That the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, is, by the divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, possessed of that Infallibility with

[1] Letter to the *Standard*, March 15, 1870.

which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed in defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that, therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church, irreformable.

'But if any one, which may God avert! presume to contradict this our Definition, let him be anathema.'

It will at once be evident that this decision of the Vatican Council, which Mr. Gladstone admits to be 'undoubtedly Œcumenical in the Roman sense,' was the result of no 'violence or change in policy,' but was an exercise of the teaching power ever claimed by the Church. The faithful had ever held that Infallibility resided in the Church; that the organ of Infallibility was her teaching body, united to the Pope. That body, composed of 'the Bishops of the whole world assembled round us (the Pope) and *judging with us*,'[1] pronounces a solemn decision: it is at once accepted by the faithful in virtue of the submission they owe to the Church as an unerring teacher.

This principle explains the fact that, although certain Bishops had before the decision deemed the promulgation of the doctrine of Infallibility inopportune, yet when that decision was pronounced they unanimously accepted it, and have since promulgated it in their several dioceses.

3. An attentive study of the words of the Decree shows:—

(*a*) That the Infallibility spoken of belongs not to the *person*,[2] but to the *office* of the Pope; and that it has nothing whatever to do with impeccability or sinlessness.

[1] Words from the *Dogmatic Constitution*.

[2] As an unfounded commentary had been made on a letter of the author dated Nov. 16, 1874, it was found necessary to make the following reply:—

'PERSONAL INFALLIBILITY.'

To the Editor of the *Times*.

'As some of those now taking part in the discussion on the Vatican Decrees are pleased to attribute to me the phrase "the doctrine of the Personal Infallibility of the Pope," and are trying to make capital out of it, I shall feel much obliged if you will allow me to say that these words are not mine. They

The Bishops of Switzerland, in their joint Pastoral Instruction of June, 1871, write on this question in the following terms:—

'It cannot be said that the Roman Pontiff is *personally infallible*, in the sense that every affirmation of his would be infalilible, and that of his own private judgment he could require the faithful to accept new dogmas. The Pope is not infallible as a man, as a learned man, as a priest, as a Bishop, as a temporal prince, as a judge, nor as a legislator. He is neither infallible nor impeccable in his life and conduct, in his political views, his relations with princes, nor even in the government of the Church; but only and exclusively when, in his capacity of supreme doctor of the Church, he pronounces a decision regarding faith or morals, which is then to be accepted and held as binding on all the faithful.'

(*b*) Not only is the gift of Infallibility limited to the *official* character of the Pope, but it is likewise attributed to *one special* office alone, that of Pastor and Teacher. The Pope, as Supreme Head of the Church, is Supreme Priest, Supreme Legislator in ecclesiastical affairs, Supreme Judge in ecclesiastical causes, and Supreme Teacher. It is only to this last office that inerrancy is promised.

(*c*) Further, the Decree states that the Infallibility is given to a *special act* of the Supreme Teacher, namely, when he 'DEFINES' questions of faith or morals, and that 'by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority.' He so *defines*, either by *declaring* a truth, or *condemning* an error, or *enacting* moral precepts for the whole Church. In examining all documents like dogmatic decrees, bulls, letters, &c., it is needed to bear in mind that all contained therein is not dogmatic definition; that alone is to be considered of the object of Infallibility which has been defined.[1]

were cited from the last sentence in Lord Camoys' letter, and were duly printed in inverted commas. Paragraph five of my letter inserted in the *Times* of the 16th inst., contains my statement of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility.'

[1] Perrone, who is not likely to be suspected of lessening the prerogatives of the Pope, says, in his *Prælectiones Theolog.* vol. viii. *De Locis Theologicis*, pt. I. cap. iv. sect. 2, No. 726 (*Lovanii*, 1843, p. 497):—'Quapropter neque facta personalia, neque præcepta, neque rescripta, neque opiniones, quas iden-

(*d*) Again, the domain of this Infallibility is 'Faith and Morals.' Not a domain to be created, but one which from the advent of Christianity has always existed. The very preamble of the Decree says on this point: 'For the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter, that by His revelation they might make known *new* doctrine, but that by His assistance they might inviolably keep and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the Apostles.' This gives no power to the Roman Pontiff either to abrogate moral precepts, or to reverse articles of faith, or to assert that wrong is right. The definitions or decisions made by the Pope, *ex cathedra*, are no more new doctrines or additions to the Faith than decisions of the Judges are new laws or additions to the law of the land.

In the third chapter of the Constitution it is declared that the Church has 'supreme power of jurisdiction not only (*a*) in things which belong to Faith and (*b*) to Morals, but also in those which relate (*c*) to the discipline and (*d*) to the government of the Church.' It is, therefore, the duty of Catholics to render a sincere obedience in all these matters. But it has to be remembered that the obedience in the first two is to a *supreme* and *infallible* authority, whereas in the other two it is to a *supreme* authority alone. A

tidem pronunt Romani Pontifices, neque decreta disciplinæ, neque omissiones definitionis aliaque id genus plurima in censu veniunt decretorum de quibus agimus. Quamquam enim hæc omnia pro summa auctoritate, ex qua dimanant, magno semper in pretio habenda sint, ac humili mentis obsequio ac veneratione sint excipienda, nihilo tamen minus non constituunt *definitionem ex cathedra*, de qua loquimur et in qua *sola* adstruimus *pontificiam infallibilitatem*.'

And Ballerini, in his work *De Vi ac Ratione Primatus Rom. Pontf.* cap. xv. sect. 6, says, 'Solas itaque fidei definitiones id (inerrantiæ privilegium) respicit a Summis Pontificibus Ecclesiæ propositas contra insurgentes dissensiones et errores in materia fidei; non autem opiniones, quibus etsi aliquid statuant, nihil tamen decernunt credendum ex Catholica fide nihilque damnant tanquam alienum ab eadem; non simplicia præcepta, quæ ad fidei definitionem referri non possint; non judicia de personis tantum, non decreta disciplinæ, quæ ad fidem non pertinent, non tandem omissiones definitionum fidei, &c.'

child is bound to render hearty obedience, though its parent is fallible.

It seems strange that so astute a thinker as Mr. Gladstone should not have appreciated this distinction, but should have confounded Infallibility with authority. Long ago Cardinal Bellarmine asserted, when speaking of the Infallibility of the Pope in regard to Faith and Morals, 'Non potest errare Summus Pontifex in *præceptis morum* quæ toti Ecclesiæ præscribuntur, et quæ in rebus necessariis ad salutem, vel in iis quæ per se bona vel mala sunt, versantur;' and when treating of the discipline and government of the Church, he says: 'Non est erroneum dicere Pontificem in aliis legibus posse errare, nimirum superfluam legem condendo, vel minus discretam, etc. Ut autem jubeat (Papa) aliquid, quod non est bonum neque malum ex se, neque contra salutem, sed tamen est inutile, vel sub pœna nimis gravi illud præcipiat, non est absurdum dicere posse fieri, etc.'[1]

We are now in a position to understand the expression 'an *ex cathedra* decision' as described in this decree.

(1) It must emanate from the teaching and not from the legislative power of the Pope.

(2) It must be concerning a doctrinal matter of Faith or Morals to be held by the whole Church.

(3) It must embody a definition made by the Roman Pontiff in virtue of his Supreme Apostolic authority.

It is necessary that these three conditions should be found united in order to give any decision the character of *ex cathedra*.

(*e*) The Decree adds that the Roman Pontiff defines 'by the Divine assistance.' By this it is not meant that the Pope is inspired as the prophets and evangelists were, but that the Holy Spirit so guides his utterances when teaching the Universal Church on 'Faith or Morals' that they cannot be at variance with Divine Truth.

Indeed the Popes are, in accordance with the duty of

[1] *De Rom. Pontif.* lib. iv. cap. v.

their office, bound to employ all means for obtaining a thorough knowledge of the question of Faith or Morals to be defined; yet, add the Swiss Bishops in the Pastoral already cited from, 'it is not this purely human knowledge, however complete it may be, but it is the assistance of the Holy Spirit, that is to say, a very special grace belonging to their office, which gives to the Popes the undoubted assurance of Infallibility, and which guarantees to all the faithful with an absolute certainty that definitions of faith proceeding from the supreme teaching authority of the Pope are exempt from error.'

(*f*) And the Decree closes by asserting that 'such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church, *irreformable*.'

Faith and Morals are identical with the whole of revealed truth; that truth is not the creation of any man or even of the Church; it comes directly from God; hence it follows that it cannot be altered or reformed. The discipline and government of the Church are completely different: they necessarily depend on and vary with varying circumstances. The Bishops may represent to the Holy See that a certain law, though enacted for the government of the whole Church, is open to objection; the Holy See may act and often has acted on such suggestion from the Bishops. So that while decisions relating to Faith and Morals are *irreformable*, those concerning the discipline and government of the Church are frequently altered.

This principle is strikingly exemplified in the history of the famous Bull *Unam Sanctam*. Published by Pope Boniface VIII., in 1302, the clauses which bear on the relation of the Church to France were abolished by Clement V., in the Bull *Meruit*. In the Eighteenth General Council, Leo X., in the *Pastor Æternus*, solemnly renewed the *Unam Sanctam* with the limitations of the *Meruit*.

We cannot better rebut the many false explanations which have been, and are still, given of the Papal Infalli-

bility than by citing, by way of summary, the letter of Père Gratry, who, after having written very strongly against the Infallibility of the Pope, under an erroneous impression of its meaning, yet lived to see the error he had made :—

'J'ai combattu, dit-il, l'infaillibilité *inspirée;* le décret du Concile repousse l'infaillibilité inspirée. J'ai combattu l'infaillibilité *personnelle;* le décret pose l'infaillibilité *officielle.* Des écrivains de l'école que je crois excesssive ne voulaient plus de l'infaillibilité *ex cathedra*, comme étant une limite trop étroite; le décret pose l'infaillibilité *ex cathedra.* Je craignais presque l'infaillibilité *scientifique*, l'infaillibilité *politique* et *gouvernementale*, et le décret ne pose que l'infaillibilité *doctrinale* en matière de foi et de mœurs. Tout cela ne veut pas dire que je n'ai pas commis d'erreurs dans ma polémique. J'en ai commis, sans doute, sur ce sujet et sur d'autres; mais dès que je connais une erreur, je l'efface, et je ne m'en sens pas humilié.' [1]

4. The preceding explanation of the Infallibility will enable us to respond to some objections that have been raised.

(1) To Mr. Gladstone's insinuation regarding the present degradation of the Episcopal order, we answer, in the words of the Vatican Council itself :—

'But so far is this power of the Supreme Pontiff from being any prejudice to that ordinary and immediate power of episcopal jurisdiction, by which Bishops, who have been set by the Holy Ghost to succeed and hold the place of the Apostles, feed and govern each his own flock, as true pastors, that this same power is really asserted, strengthened, and protected by the supreme and universal Pastor; in accordance with the words of St. Gregory the Great: "My honor is the honor of the whole Church. My honor is the firm strength of my brethren. Then am I truly honored, when the honor due to each and all is not withheld."'

And further, in the following passage from the joint Pastoral of the Swiss Bishops published in June, 1871 :—

'The definition of the Council has in no wise made a separation between the Head and the members of the teaching body of the Church. After the Council as before, the Popes will exercise their office of doctors and supreme Pastors of the Church, without forgetting that the

[1] *Correspondant* du 25 Février 1872, p. 726.

Bishops are with them established by the Holy Spirit, and according to the constitution of the Church, as successors of the Apostles, to the end that, in concert with the Pope and placed in subjection to the successor of the Prince of the Apostles, they may govern the Church of God. After the Council as before, the Popes will continue to confirm their brethren the Bishops in the Faith; as also in the government of the Church, they will never undertake anything of universal interest without the counsel and advice of the Bishops. After the definition as before, they will convoke Councils, take the opinion of the dispersed Bishops, use every means in their power to acquire a perfect knowledge of the deposit of Faith confided to the Church. In accordance with this one and unchangeable rule of Faith, they will give their supreme, ultimate, and infallible decision to the Universal Church in regard to all questions which may arise concerning Faith and Morals.'

(2) When Mr. Gladstone objects that there are twelve interpretations of the phrase *ex cathedra*, and goes on to imply the assumption of a kind of omnipotence by the Pope, we cannot but think that he has neglected to study the very words of the Decree. We have shown above that three conditions, which must be united together, are required to make a Papal utterance *ex cathedra*. A further quotation from the Pastoral of the Swiss Bishops will serve to make the subject clear:—

'The revelation given by God, the deposit of the Faith, is the clearly defined and precisely circumscribed domain over which the infallible decisions of the Pope may extend, and with regard to which the faith of Catholics may be subjected to new obligations. . . . It does not depend on the caprice or good pleasure of a Pope to make any given doctrine the object of a dogmatic definition; he is bound and limited to Divine Revelation and the truths therein contained; he is bound and limited by the existing symbols of Faith and by the preceding definitions of the Church; he is bound and limited by the Divine law and by the constitution of the Church; finally, he is bound and limited by that divinely revealed doctrine which affirms that by the side of religious society civil society exists, that by the side of the ecclesiastical hierarchy there is the power of temporal rulers, invested in their own domain with full sovereignty, and to whom obedience and respect are in conscience due in all things morally lawful and within the domain of civil society.'

(3) Mr. Gladstone in the course of his pamphlet has ad-

duced several instances of Papal action in the affairs of States; he has asserted that the Popes exercised the power of deposing sovereigns. Lord Acton, while professing the most devoted attachment to the Church, has taken a similar line. Neither one or the other of these gentlemen has cited a single case of an *ex cathedra* utterance of the Pope. Had they shown that any one of the principles of morality implied in the acts they have mentioned was formally enunciated by the Popes, that the contrary opinion was formally condemned, or that any general rule of action for such cases was imposed on the Church of God, their argument would have been established; as it is, the assertions made, even if the correctness of each were proved, can only serve to throw dust in the eyes of the ignorant and to revive Protestant bigotry and prejudice.

(4) Every fair-minded reader will therefore see that in virtue of the Vatican decrees there is no change as to the doctrine of the gift of Infallibility, and none as to the object or the sphere of that Infallibility. The decree declares the Pope to be 'possessed of that Infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed. The Pope indeed has, under certain conditions, been declared to be one of its organs, and, if we may so speak, the Infallibility has thereby been made more ready of access.

Before the decision of the Vatican Council, in the very letter from which Mr. Gladstone has cited another passage, Father Newman wrote: 'We all at least practically, if not to say doctrinally, hold the Holy Father to be infallible.' These words but express that which had been from the first the general belief of Christendom: a belief, as we are about to prove, constantly expressed in word and action, in the claims made by successive Pontiffs on the one hand, and in the constant submission rendered by the faithful to such claims on the other. In fact, Mr. Gladstone himself asserts that '*The Popes had kept up, with comparatively little inter-*

mission, for well nigh a thousand years their claim to dogmatic infallibility.'

Indeed, it is a necessary consequence of the ancient and constant doctrine that the supreme Ecclesiastical power has been given by God to the Roman Pontiff to sustain the unity of the Church. But this supreme Ecclesiastical power includes, according to the express declarations of General Councils in early times, the supreme power of teaching.

5. Throughout the long history of the Church of God the Popes have not waited to have their Infallibility declared, but have acted as possessors of it, condemning unsound doctrines whenever they made their appearance, and proclaiming truths anew when they were in danger of becoming obscured or perverted. Those who obstinately refused submission to any dogmatic decree of the Sovereign Pontiff were ever considered guilty of grave sin. Until the fifteenth century it was never even pretended that an appeal might be made against the Pope's judgment to a future Œcumenical Council. The promptitude with which the faithful assented to Pope Martin V.'s condemnation of this proposition in the *Inter Cunctas* in 1418, bears witness to the sense of the Church on this question.

Not to go back earlier than the year 516, the Eastern Bishops, whom Mr. Gladstone, in common with other High Churchmen, must hold to have been Catholic, individually asserted their belief that, by Christ's promise, the Apostolic See could not fail in faith, and that communion with the Catholic Church could be defined by saying that a person was in harmony ('*consentiens*') with that See; and that, in so doing, he was following in all things the constitutions of the Fathers. The following is the notable *Regula Fiedei* of Pope Hormisdas, which was signed by all the Eastern Bishops who had joined the Acacian schism, as also by the Emperor Justinian, and by the Patriarchs of Constantinople

—Epiphanius, John, and Mennas. At the Eighth General Council, held in 869, every Bishop signed it, *mutatus mutandis*, before taking his seat, the grounds of his faith being identical with those therein expressed—viz., the Infallibility, or, in the language of the day, the Immaculateness, by Christ's promise, of the faith of the See of Peter:—

'The first condition of salvation is to hold firm the Rule of the true Faith, and in no way to deviate from the constitutions of the Fathers. And because the statement of our Lord Jesus Christ, when He said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, etc.," cannot be set aside; this, which is said, is proved by results, because in the Apostolic See religion has always been preserved undefiled. Desirous, therefore, not in the least degree to be separated from this hope and faith, and following in all matters the constitutions of the Fathers, we anathematize all heretics, especially . . .' Then follow certain heretics by name (others of the time being substituted for them at the Eighth General Council) and, among them, '. . . . Acacius, who persisted in their communion and fellowship; because he has deserved a sentence, like that of those whose communion he attached himself to. . . . Wherefore we receive and approve of all the General Epistles (*Epistolas Universas*) of Pope Leo, wherein he wrote concerning the true religion. Hence, as we have said, following in all respects the Apostolic See, and publishing all its constitutions, I hope that I may deserve to be in the one communion with you, which the Apostolic See proclaims, wherein the Christian religion is effectually and truly consolidated (*in qua est integra et verax Christianæ religionis soliditas*): promising, also, that the names of those who are cut off (*sequestratos*) from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, not consentient with the Apostolic See, shall not be recited during the Sacred Mysteries. This, my profession, I have subscribed with my own hand, and delivered to you, Hormisdas, the holy and venerable Pope of the City of Rome.'

With the approval of the Second Council of Lyons, held in 1274, the Greeks professed: That the Holy Roman Church enjoys supreme and full Primacy and princedom over the whole Catholic Church, which it truly and humbly acknowledges that it has received with the plenitude of power from our Lord Himself in the person of Blessed Peter, Prince or Head of the Apostles, whose successor the Roman

Pontiff is: and as the Apostolic See is bound before all others to defend the truth of Faith, so also, if any questions regarding Faith shall arise, they must be defined by its judgment.[1]

In 1438 the Council of Florence defined: That the Roman Pontiff is the true Vicar of Christ, and the Head of the whole Church and the Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him in Blessed Peter was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the whole Church (John xxi. 15–17).[2]

The Bull *Unam Sanctam*, published in 1302, contains an *ex cathedra* definition of Pope Boniface VIII. in these words: 'Therefore we declare, we assert, we *define*, and we pronounce that every human creature ought, for the salvation of his soul, to be subject to the Roman Pontiff.'

Leo X., in 1520, by an *ex cathedra* utterance, *Exsurge, Domine*, condemned the errors of Luther.

In 1653, Innocent X., in the Bull *Cum Occasione*, condemned the five propositions of Jansenius as heretical.

Within the next half-century, Innocent XI., in a Brief, and Alexander VIII., in the Bull *Inter multiplices*, rejected the declaration of the Gallican clergy made in 1682. During the century and a half which elapsed between the time of Alexander VIII. and the accession of Pius IX., the Sovereign Pontiffs repeatedly exercised the same power in the condemnation of various errors which from time to time arose. Perhaps no more striking example could be given than the famed Bull of Pius VI., *Auctorem fidei*, of 28 Aug., 1794.[3]

The instances which we have cited bear unmistakeable evidence to the fact that the Papal Infallibility was not created by the Vatican Council; but that, on the contrary, it

[1] *Mansi. Coll. Council.* t. viii. pp. 407–8; *Labbé*, vol. xiv. p. 512.

[2] The words 'every human creature' are to be found 1 Pet. ii. v. 13. Leo X. interpreted them in the Fifth Lateran Council, 'all the faithful of Christ.'

[3] *Labbé*, vol. xviii. p. 526.

had ever been admitted by the Church, and unhesitatingly exercised by the Sovereign Pontiff.

6. The utterances of the Popes on the nature and relations of the spiritual and civil powers also show in the most striking manner that the doctrine now held on that subject is identical with that which has been asserted by them from the earliest times.

The following, selected from among many, will be sufficient to establish this point:—

(1) Pope Gelasius, at the close of the fifth century, wrote to the Emperor Anastasius:—'God forbid that a Roman Prince should feel offended at the declaration of the truth! There are two things, august Emperor, whereby this world is governed, namely, the sacred authority of Pontiffs and the royal power, wherein the weight of priestly authority is so much the greater, as in the Divine judgment priests must render to the Lord an account for kings themselves. For you know, most clement son, that although you preside over men, you devoutly bend the neck to the dispensers of the Divine Mysteries, and ask from them the means of salvation: and in the reception and proper administration of the heavenly Sacraments, you know that you should be subject to them according to the religious rule, rather than preside over them. You are aware, then, that as to these things you depend on their judgment, and that they are not to be forced to compliance with your will. For if, as regards public order, the prelates of the Church, knowing that the empire has been confided to you by Divine Providence, obey your laws, lest they should appear to oppose your will in things of this world, with what affection should you obey them who are appointed to dispense the awful Mysteries! Wherefore, as the Pontiffs incur a serious responsibility if they suppress what they should declare for the honor of the Deity, so the danger is great of others who insolently refuse obedience. And if the hearts of the faithful should be submissive to all priests in general who treat Divine things properly, how much more should assent be yielded to the Prelate of the See, whom the Supreme Lord ordained to preside over all priests, and whom the piety of the Universal Church has always honored! You clearly understand that no one can, by any human device, oppose the prerogative or confession of him whom the voice of Christ preferred to all others, whom the Holy Church has always acknowledged, and whom she now devoutly regards as her Primate.'[1]

[1] *Gelasii Ep.* iv. *ad Anastasium*, col. 893, t. ii. Hard.

(2) Nine centuries later Pope Boniface VIII. published the Bull *Unam Sanctam:* an account of which we extract from Döllinger's 'History of the Church':—

'In November, 1302, Pope Boniface opened a Council, at which there were present from France four Archbishops, thirty-five Bishops, and six Abbots. One consequence of this Council appears to have been the celebrated decretal, *Unam Sanctam*, which was made public on November 18th, and which contains an exposition of the relations between the spiritual and temporal powers. In the Christian society, it says, there are two powers, a temporal and spiritual, and, as far as they are both in the Church, they have both the same end: the temporal power, the inferior, is subject to the spiritual, the higher and more noble. The former must be guided and directed by the latter, as the body is by the soul; it receives from the spiritual its consecration and its direction to its highest object, *and must, therefore, should it ever depart from its destined path, be corrected by the spiritual power.* It is a truth of faith, that all men, even kings, are subject to the Pope; if, therefore, they *should be guilty of grievous sins*, in peace or in war, or in the government of their kingdom and the treatment of their subjects, and should thus lose sight of the object to which the power of a Christian prince should be directed, and should give public scandal to the people, the Pope can admonish them, *since, in regard to sin*, they are subject to the spiritual power. He can correct them, and, if necessity should require it, compel them by censures to remove such scandals. For if they were not subject to the censures of the Church, whenever they might sin in the exercise of the power entrusted to them, it would follow that, as kings, they were out of the Church, that the two powers would be totally distinct from each other, and that they were descended from distinct and even opposed principles, which would be an error approaching to the heresy of the Manicheans. It was, therefore, the indirect power of the Church over the temporal power of kings which the Pope defended in these Bulls, and he had designedly extracted the strongest passages of them from the writings of two French theologians, St. Bernard and Hugo of St. Victor.'[1]

In the previous month of August the same Pope had held a Consistory, 'in which, justifying his Bull *Ausculta*, he declared that it never was his intention to deny the distinction between the two powers which had been instituted

[1] Döllinger's *History of the Church*, translated by Rev. E. Cox, vol. iv. chap. iv. pp. 91–2.

by God, or to assume to himself the jurisdiction which belonged to the king; but that the king, like any other Christian, was subject *to him in regard to sin*.' This distinction, 'in regard to sin,' was introduced by Innocent III. in 1202 in the Decretal *Novit*, upon which he founded his right of interfering in the contest between the kings of England and France.[1]

(3) Two centuries later, Leo X., in the Eighteenth General Council, solemnly renewed in the *Pastor Æternus* the constitution of Boniface in these words: 'And as it is necessary for salvation that every one of the faithful should be subject to the Roman Pontiff, according to the doctrine of Scripture and the Holy Fathers, and the constitution of Pope Boniface VIII., *Unam Sanctam*, we renew this constitution with the approbation of the present Council without prejudice to the Bull *Meruit* of Clement V.'

(4) To the instances cited we add the lucid statements of his Eminence Cardinal Antonelli, made in reply to Count Daru, Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. By a breach of confidence, the draft of the Constitution on the Church was published in the 'Augsburg Gazette.' Alarm was taken by the French Government, and Count Daru forwarded a despatch on the proposed canons. To this the Cardinal replied on March 19, 1870. In that despatch his Eminence says:—

'Much less would it be possible for me to agree upon the character and extent given by the Minister to the doctrines contained in the aforesaid canons. In virtue of them there is not attributed, either to the Church or the Roman Pontiff, that direct and absolute power over the whole aggregate of political rights, of which the despatch speaks; nor is the subordination of the civil to the religious power to be understood in the sense set forth by him, but in another order of quite different bearing.

'And, in truth, the Church has never intended, nor now intends, to exercise any direct and absolute power over the political rights of the State. Having received from God the lofty mission of guiding men,

[1] Döllinger's *History of the Church*, vol. iv. chap. iv. p. 91.

whether individually or as congregated in society, to a supernatural end, she has by that very fact the authority and the duty to judge concerning the morality and justice of all acts, internal and external, in relation to their conformity with the natural and divine law. And as no action, whether it be ordained by a supreme power or be freely elicited by an individual, can be exempt from this character of morality and justice, so it happens that the judgment of the Church, though falling directly on the morality of the acts, indirectly reaches over everything with which that morality is conjoined. But this is not the same thing as to interfere directly in political affairs, which, by the order established by God and by the teaching of the Church herself, appertains to the temporal power without depending on any other authority. The subordination also of the civil to the religious power is in the sense of the pre-eminence of the priestly office (sacerdozio) over the civil authority (impero), because of the superiority of the end of the one over that of the other. Hence the authority of the imperium depends on that of the sacerdotium, as human things on devine, temporal on spiritual. And, if temporal happiness, which is the end of the civil power, is subordinate to eternal beatitude, which is the spiritual end of the priestly office, it follows that, in order to reach the end to which it has pleased God to direct them, the one power is subordinate to the other. Their powers are respectively subordinate in the same way as the ends to which they are directed. . . .

'It follows, moreover, that if the Church was instituted by its Divine Founder as a true and perfect society, distinct from the civil power and independent of it, with full authority in the triple order, legislative, judicial, and coercive, no confusion springs therefrom in the march of human society, and in the exercise of the rights of the two powers. The competence of the one and the other is clearly distinct and determined, according to the end to which they are respectively directed. The Church does not, in virtue of her authority, intervene directly and absolutely in the constitutive principles of governments, in the forms of civil regulations, in the political rights of citizens, in the duties of the State, and in the other points indicated in the minister's note. But, whereas no civil society can subsist without a supreme principle regulating the morality of its acts and laws, the Church has received from God this lofty mission, which tends to the happiness of the people; while she in no way embarrasses, by the exercise of this her ministry, the free and prompt action of governments. She, in fact, by inculcating the principle of rendering to God that which is God's, and to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, imposes at the same time upon her children the obligation of obeying the authority of princes for conscience' sake. But

these should also recognise that if anywhere a law is made opposed to the principles of eternal justice, to obey would not be a giving to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, but a taking from God that which is God's.'

These declarations of creeds and of Councils bear witness to the fact, that the 'proud boast of *Semper eadem*' is truly to be made of the supremacy of the Holy See, and of the teaching in regard to the relations between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, as well as of the other doctrines of the Catholic Church.

7. The Supremacy of the Holy See, declared in the *Regula Fidei* of Pope Hormisdas, in the year 516; reasserted in the Eighth General Council, in 869; declared anew in the Council of Florence, 1439, and acted upon in the condemnation of the doctrines of Jansenius and other heresiarchs, is fully recognised and explicitly stated in the first Codes of the Christian emperors.

The very first words in the Code of Justinian are as follows:—

'Edict of the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius to the People of the City of Constantinople.

'We will that all peoples who are ruled by our merciful government adhere to that religion, which, the doctrine inculcated all along from him down to the present time, declares that the holy Peter the Apostle delivered to the Romans.' 'Cunctos populos, quos clementiæ nostræ regit imperium, in tali volumus religione versari, quam divum Petrum Apostolum tradidisse Romanis, religio usque adhuc ab ipso insinuata declarat.'

In the year 533 Justinian writes as follows to Epiphanius, Archbishop of Constantinople and Œcumenical Patriarch:—

'We promulgated on a former occasion a sacred edict (of which your Holiness is aware), by which we condemned the frenzy of heretics, so that in no way whatever we have altered, do alter, or have infringed upon that ecclesiastical condition which has hitherto until now been preserved by the help of God (of which your Holiness is also aware), but in all things preserving a state of unity between the most holy Churches with the most holy Pope himself of ancient Rome, to whom we have written to the same effect. For we cannot allow that any of those things which

relate to the ecclesiastical state should not be referred to His Holiness, since he is the head of all the most holy priests of God, even on this account especially, because, as often as heretics have sprung up in those places, they have been repressed both by the expressed opinion and the right judgment of that venerable See.' 'Divinum antehac promulgavimus edictum (quod et tua novit sanctitas), per quod hereticorum furores reprehendimus, ita ut nullo quovis omnino modo immutaverimus, immutemus aut prætergressi simus eum, qui nunc usque coadjuvante Deo servatus est, ecclesiasticum statum (quemadmodum et tua novit sanctitas), sed in omnibus servato statu unitatis sanctissimarum ecclesiarum cum ipso SS. Papa veteris Romæ, ad quem similia hisce perscripsimus. Nec enim patimur ut quicquam eorum, quæ ad ecclesiasticum spectant statum, non etiam ad ejusdem referatur beatitudinem, quum ea (i. e. the beatitudo) sit caput omnium sanctissimorum Dei sacerdotum, vel eo maxime quod,[1] quoties in iis locis hæretici pullularunt, et sententia [2] et recto judicio illius venerabilis sedis coerciti sunt.'—*Code*, p. 111.

In the next page of the Code there is a letter from the Pope to his 'son' Justinian:—'Gloriosissimo et clementissimo filio Justiniano Augusto Joannes episcopus urbis Romæ.' This papal rescript, by its incorporation with the Code, became equivalent to an Imperial Constitution. The Pope writes as follows:—

'Amidst the brilliant glories of your wisdom and clemency, most Christian Emperor, one of your deeds shines with a clearer light, like some star—viz. that having, through love of the faith and the zeal of charity, been instructed in ecclesiastical studies, you maintain reverence for the Roman See, and subject all things to it, and bring them to its unity, to whose founder, that is, the Prince of the Apostles, by the words of the Lord, it was commanded, "Feed my sheep." And that this Church is truly the head of all Churches, both the rules of the Fathers and the statutes of princes declare, and the most venerable utterances of your piety attest.' 'Inter claras sapientiæ ac mansuetudinis vestræ laudes, Christi amicissime Principum, puriore luce tanquam aliquod sydus irradiat, quod amore fidei quod charitatis studio edocti ecclesiasticis disciplinis, Romanæ sedis reverentiam conservatis, et ei cuncta subjicitis et ad ejus deducitis unitatem, ad cujus auctorem, hoc est, Apostolorum primum, Domino

[1] This expresses a new reason *why* the Pope is to have present and future jurisdiction.

[2] The decision given *ex cathedra*, which, therefore, in the time of Justinian was distinctly held to be conclusive.

loquente, præceptum est "Pasce oves meas!" Quam esse omnium vere ecclesiarum caput, et patrum regulæ et Principum statuta declarant, et pietatis vestræ reverendissimi testantur affatus.'

In the next paragraph of the Code Justinian responds, as follows, to the same Pope:—

'Yielding honor to the Apostolic See, and to your sanctity (which always has been and is my desire), and honoring your Holiness, as one ought to honor a father, we have hastened to bring to the knowledge of your Holiness all things which relate to the ecclesiastical state; since it has always been a chief study on our part to guard the unity of your Apostolic See, and the status of the holy Churches of God, which obtain until now, and remain unaltered without the interference of any contrary authority. Therefore we have hastened to subject all the priests of the whole Eastern district and to unite them to the See of your Holiness. At present, therefore, as to those points which are being discussed, although they are manifest and admit of no doubt, and have always been firmly guarded and preached by all priests according to the doctrine of your Apostolic See, yet we have thought it necessary that they should come under the cognisance of your Holiness. For we do not allow of any point, however manifest and indisputable it be, which relates to the state of the Churches, not being brought to the cognisance of your Holiness, since you are the head of all holy Churches. For in all things we are desirous, as has been said, that the honor and authority of your See should increase. "Victor Justinianus semper Augustus Johanni sanctissimo archiepiscopo almæ urbis Romæ et Patriarcha."'—'Reddentes honorem Apostolicæ sedi, et vestræ sanctitati (quod semper nobis in voto et fuit et est), et ut decet Patrem, honorantes vestram beatitudinem, omnia quæ ad ecclesiasticum statum pertinent festinavimus ad notitiam deferre vestræ sanctitatis, quoniam semper nobis fuit magnum studium unitatem vestræ Apostolicæ sedis, et statum sanctarum dei ecclesiarum custodire, qui hactenus obtinet, et incommote permanet nulla intercedente contrarietate. Ideoque, omnes sacerdotes universi Orientalis tractus, et subjicere, et unire sedi vestræ sanctitatis properavimus. In præsenti, ergo, quæ commota sunt, quamvis manifesta et indubitata sint, et secundum Apostolicæ vestræ sedis doctrinam ab omnibus semper sacerdotibus firme custodita et prædicata, necessarium duximus, ut ad notitiam vestræ sanctitatis perveniant. Nec enim patimur quicquam, quod ad ecclesiarum statum pertinet, quamvis manifestum et indubitatum sit, quod movetur, ut non etiam vestræ innotescat sanctitati, quæ caput est omnium sanctarum ecclesiarum. Per omnia enim, ut dictum est, properamus honorem et auctoritatem crescere vestræ sedi.'

In the Novels we find the following:—

'Since, therefore, even the authority of a holy synod has strengthened the deserved primacy of the Apostolic See of holy Peter, who is the chief of the episcopal crown and the honor of the Roman State; lest presumption should attempt anything in contravention of the renowned authority of that See; for then finally shall the peace of the Churches everywhere be preserved, if the whole body of the Churches acknowledges it (*i.e.* the primatus)—acknowledges him as its ruler.' . . . . 'Cum igitur sedis Apostolicæ primatum sancti Petri meritum, qui princeps est episcopalis coronæ, et Romanæ dignitas civitatis, sacræ etiam synodi firmavit auctoritas, ne quid præter auctoritatem sedis istius inclitam præsumptio attemptare nitatur; tunc enim demum ecclesiarum pax ubique servabitur, si rectorem suum agnoscat universitas' . . . . (Valentinian, lib. xxiv. inter Novel. Theodosii.)

These passages, the first of which is copied from an Imperial Constitution of the year 380, bear evidence to the universal belief of that early period, that the Apostolic is the Roman See, and none other; that its supremacy was derived from its first founder, Saint Peter; that it is the head and rule of doctrine and discipline; that Justinian and his predecessors apprehended no collision between Church and State from conceding the primacy to Rome, rather than to Constantinople; that the primacy of Rome was not owing to its being originally the seat of Government, for then the primacy would have moved with the Royal Court to Constantinople; that the evidences of the Roman primacy were considered clear and indisputable, at least before the fourth century of the Christian era, and before the irruption of the barbarians had destroyed any of the evidences of title; and, finally, that the relations of the Roman See to the State were settled at a very early date, on a basis satisfactory to both parties to the compact or concordat.

V.

THE SYLLABUS.

THE *Syllabus*, in common with the Infallibility, has to bear the brunt of Mr. Gladstone's indignation. But as many of his readers are certainly perfectly ignorant of this document, we think it well, before proceeding to examine the manner in which Mr. Gladstone treats it, to give them some idea of its nature.

(1) The title of the *Syllabus* informs us that it is an abstract of 'the principal errors of our age, which are pointed out in the Consistorial Allocutions, the Encyclicals, and other Apostolic Letters of our Holy Father, Pope Pius IX.'

It is, in fact, a brief summary of condemned errors. It is divided into ten sections: on Pantheism, Naturalism, and Absolute Rationalism; on Moderate Rationalism; on Indifferentism and Latitudinarianism; on Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, and Clerico-Liberal Societies; Errors regarding the Church and her rights; regarding Civil Society, considered both in itself and in its relations to the Church; Errors relating to Natural and Christian Morality, to Christian Marriages, to the Civil Principality of the Roman Pontiff, and to Modern Liberalism.

The errors enumerated in the *Syllabus* have all of them been refuted at length by His present Holiness, in various Papal utterances, and many of them have also been condemned by previous Popes. This may be seen by a reference to the thirty-seven Apostolic Letters and Allocutions cited in the *Encyclical* and the *Syllabus*, the first of which bears date 1738, and was published by Clement XII. It will be observed that these documents extend over nearly a century and a half.

(2) There has perhaps never in the history of Europe been a period more fraught with violent change than that from 1738 to the present day. Dynasties have been overturned, forms of government changed, revolutions have devastated some of the fairest portions of Europe, old-constituted authorities have been abolished, a spirit of lawlessness has prevailed, men's minds have even seemed to turn to the old errors of paganism. Amidst this upheaving and confusion the Holy See has, with a true instinct, ever discerned the perils that threatened society, and from time to time has raised a warning voice, protesting against that anarchy which would subvert the very foundations of religious and civil order, and that license which would leave the young and inexperienced without a rule or guide. The long Pontificate of our Holy Father has been full of events which have called upon him to speak, to assert the eternal principles of justice and truth, and to condemn the errors which were often leading men they knew not where.

(3) The dangers of the period to which we allude have been recognised, not by the Holy Father alone, but by all who have the cause of law and of virtue at heart. The civil power in our own and in other countries has over and over again exerted itself to stem this tide of destruction. For example, stringent laws have been enacted against secret societies, obscene literature, and libellous publications. From time to time the license of the Press has been restrained in Ireland and other parts of Her Majesty's dominions. Now if the State, from a motive of self-preservation, finds it necessary to do all this, why should not the Church, with her delicate instinct for the salvation of souls and the conservation of society, raise her voice to warn men of danger by condemning errors?

(4) The *Encyclical*, with the *Syllabus* of errors, was addressed, not to the *laity*, not even to the ordinary clergy, but to the Bishops as Pastors of the faithful. These naturally have made theology their study, and are familiar with

the technical language of the Church's teaching. On them, or those delegated by them, falls the duty of giving a true interpretation of the meaning of the condemned propositions. This certainly is not an unreasonable position to take, for every science has its own terminology, which must be learned by those who wish to acquire the science.

Moreover, as these propositions summarise the explicit statements made in the Apostolic Letters to which they refer, it is manifest that for their thorough comprehension the original Letters ought to be carefully studied.

And further, in the interpretation of these propositions, we are not at liberty to lay aside the strict laws of logic; we are not justified, for instance, when a proposition is condemned, in saying that its 'contrary' is true, but only that its 'contradictory' is true; nor, again, can we argue from a particular negative to a universal negation. In the interpretation of condemned propositions, we must remark all the terms, all the most delicate shades of meaning; for the falsity of a proposition often only depends on one shade, one word which alone constitutes the error. Absolute propositions must be distinguished from relative, for that which may be admissible as an hypothesis would often be false as a thesis. Moreover, some propositions are equivocal and dangerous, and may be condemned only because of their equivocal nature, and of the bad sense of which they are susceptible, while at the same time they may also have a good sense. Finally, there are propositions, and the *Syllabus* contains many such, which are condemned only in the sense attached to them by their authors, and not in the absolute sense of the words apart from their context.[1]

Regardless of these obvious principles, Mr. Gladstone has been pleased to make himself the interpreter of the propositions of the *Syllabus*, and we much fear has, in his selection, thought only of the Protestant prejudice latent in

[1] *La Convention du* 15 *Septembre et l'Encyclique du* 8 *Décembre*, par Monsig. Dupanloup, l'Evêque d'Orléans.

the hearts of so many of our countrymen. No better red rag could be held before the English bull than the idea of any interference with the Liberty of the Press, Liberty of Conscience and Worship and of Speech. These are among the propositions selected by Mr. Gladstone, and no doubt in the bald form he has given them may seem open to objection. We will, however, translate the passage of the *Encyclical* to which Mr. Gladstone refers in support of one of these charges:—

'From which totally false idea of social government they do not fear to foster that erroneous opinion, most fatal in its effects on the Catholic Church and the salvation of souls, called by our predecessor, Gregory XVI., an *insanity*—viz. that "liberty of conscience and worship is each man's personal right, which ought to be legally proclaimed and asserted in every rightly-constituted society; and that a right resides in the citizens to an absolute liberty, which should be restrained by no authority, whether ecclesiastical or civil, whereby they may be able openly and publicly to manifest and declare any of their ideas whatever, either by word of mouth, by the press, or in any other way."'

We leave it to our readers to judge whether Mr. Gladstone's words give a fair idea of the Holy Father's meaning. We have no hesitation in asserting that a very large number of our Protestant countrymen heartily condemn and detest most of the errors enumerated in the *Syllabus*. When we say that its first section includes the denial of the existence of God as distinct from this universe; the assertions that 'human reason, without any regard whatever being had to God, is the one judge of truth and falsehood, of good and evil; that Divine revelation is imperfect; the faith of Christ is opposed to human reason; that Divine revelation is injurious to man's perfection; and that the prophecies and miracles of Scripture are poetical fictions,' we are giving our readers a fairer idea of the *Syllabus* than they may have gathered from merely reading Mr. Gladstone's extracts. Among the propositions which he has selected is one on which the feeling of our countrymen has of

late been strongly expressed: we allude to that which asserts that 'any method of instruction of youth, solely secular, may be approved.' Is it not the unanimous conviction of all who hold their religion dear, that children ought from their earliest days to be taught to know and serve God? And as to the marriage tie, we are confident that thousands of our Protestant countrymen will heartily concur in the declarations of the *Syllabus* on this subject. The Holy See displays the highest wisdom by condemning in this much-abused document propositions like the following, which, if allowed to obtain practical effect, would upturn the foundations of society:—'No other strength is to be recognised except material force;' 'Authority is nothing else but numercial power and material force;' 'The principle of non-intervention (as it is called) should be proclaimed and observed;' 'It is lawful to refuse obedience to legitimate princes, and even rebel against them.' That such propositions are condemned is proof that the *Syllabus* was published, among other reasons, for upholding Civil Allegiance.

VI.

CIVIL ALLEGIANCE.

1. Every Catholic who reads Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet must feel that a wanton, deliberate, and unprovoked insult has been offered to him and to his religion. The drift of Mr. Gladstone's argument throughout is to show that the principles of Catholics forbid their being loyal subjects. This is indeed qualified, or we might say aggravated, by the repeated assertion that Catholics are loyal, that their loyalty is well known to their fellow-countrymen, and undoubted by them. We ought not, however, it would appear, to be loyal; our loyalty is preserved at the expense of our con-

sistency; we are better than our principles. Accordingly, Mr. Gladstone, who throughout the whole pamphlet has assumed a tone of authority hardly to be justified by anything short of Infallibility, tells us that one of two things is 'wanted' from us—either,

(1) A demonstration that neither in the name of faith, nor in the name of morals, nor in the name of the government or discipline of the Church, is the Pope of Rome able, by virtue of the powers asserted for him by the Vatican Decree, to make any claim upon those who adhere to his communion of such a nature as can impair the integrity of their civil allegiance; or else,

(2) That, if and when such claim is made, it will, even although resting on the definitions of the Vatican, be repelled and rejected.

If we were writing to Mr. Gladstone alone, we should be inclined to say that one or two things are 'wanted' from him.

In the first place, a clear definition of the meaning and extent of 'civil allegiance'; in the second place, an absolute guarantee that the claims of civil allegiance cannot, under any imaginable circumstances, be at variance with the dictates of any man's conscience, or else a substantial proof that, in the event of such conflict, conscience, necessarily and invariably, ought to give way.

If Mr. Gladstone were not to give this definition, this guarantee or this proof, we should be led or driven to the belief that he had not fully considered the subject, or that, reversing the principle of the Apostles, he had made up his mind that we ought to obey man rather than God.

But we are not addressing Mr. Gladstone personally, and we feel that something is due to a great number of our fellow-countrymen who, without his means of information at command, may be perplexed and disturbed by his insinuations. We do not wish to be distrusted and misjudged by those among whom we have lived in peace and harmony,

and we do not wish to see them more and more estranged from the Church of God by mists of prejudice and misrepresentation. Let us turn, therefore, from the vague region of hypothesis, into which Mr. Gladstone strives to lead us, to the solid ground of facts.

2. The Catholic Church is not a thing of yesterday. She has a life of nearly nineteen centuries behind her. She has found a home in all countries, and under all forms of civil government. She has passed through periods of persecution and of peace. Her life has been cast alike amongst civilised nations and barbarous people. The page of history tells us how she has abolished slavery, and has laid the foundations of true liberty, by teaching men to restrain their passions, to respect the rights of others, and by exercising her power against the tyranny of despots and demagogues. Over and over again have her sons shed their blood in defence of their country. They have ever been found among the loyal and faithful subjects of the State. To destroy oppression, her appeal has been not to rebellion but to reason and conscience. Her ambition has been to strengthen peace and justice in the nations.

There is a country in which the Catholic Church enjoys the most perfect freedom, in which she is making more rapid progress than perhaps in any other part of the world, in which her members occupy many of the highest positions of the State. What is the experience of the United States with regard to the civil allegiance of Catholics? The unanimous testimony of the Protestant press is, 'that Catholics in America, whatever they may be elsewhere, are citizens of whose perfect loyalty there can be no question; and that, as all the American Catholics are Ultramontanes, the Ultramontanes elsewhere must be very much like them.'

If we turn to Germany itself, where at the present moment priests and bishops are suffering imprisonment and persecution, it cannot be forgotten that the Catholic soldiers of that Empire were in the late war ever foremost in dan-

ger, that they bore the brunt of the battle, and that a very large proportion of them sacrificed their lives to the glory of their Fatherland and their allegiance to their Sovereign.

Poland has been persecuted and ill-treated to a degree that has called forth the sympathy and the indignation of Europe, but the Holy Father has bid the Poles abide in patience.

To go yet nearer to the Holy See. Within our own days the temporal Sovereignty of the Holy Father has been wrested from him, his kingdom, the oldest and grandest monarchy on earth, has, in defiance of all justice, been usurped by another. A word from his lips would suffice to muster devoted sons around him; they would willingly shed the last drop of their blood to regain for him that which he has lost. While the dominion was yet his, he had an army for self-defence; now he limits himself to a protest against the injustice, and to inflicting ecclesiastical censures on the usurpers.

Even in British dominions statesmen have had cause to congratulate themselves on the influence exerted by the Catholic Church. Fenianism in Ireland threatened the peace of the nation, the Church condemned the movement, discountenanced the rebellion, and ever preached patience and submission to authority.

With Mr. Gladstone's statement about the deposing power we shall presently deal; but let us ask our countrymen to look fairly at the facts we have mentioned, to think of all the brave Catholic soldiers who have fallen in their country's cause, of the Catholic magistrates and other public men whose lives are before their eyes, and to say whether, against the practical results of the Church's teaching concerning loyalty of which they furnish examples, Mr. Gladstone's deductions from principle which he has failed to grasp are to have weight. Catholics are loyal—the fact is admitted; they, who of all people in the world ought to know best, declare their loyalty to be in accordance with the

sacred teachings of their religion; who has a right to say it is not so? Mr. Gladstone wishes to persuade them that they are wrong, that there is an essential variance between their religion and their loyalty. We utterly deny his statement; but, supposing that he should induce a certain number of ill-instructed Catholics to believe it, what would be the result? Can he be quite sure that, if the two things were separated, the Catholic would necessarily prefer loyalty to religion,—loyalty which in such a case would be deprived of its most important sanction? and could he place much confidence in a Catholic who made such a choice?

3. The allegiance of Catholics can only be appreciated by remembering the principles on which it is founded. The following summary of them may aid our readers to do this:—

(1) According to the teaching of the Catholic Church, God has established on earth three distinct powers: (*a*) the Paternal, (*b*) the Civil, (*c*) the Spiritual. These are invested respectively in the Family, the State, and the Church. And to each, in its own sphere, obedience must be rendered for conscience' sake.

(2) Each of these powers is supreme and independent in its own province; has full and free activity in its own order; preserves its own autonomy; and ought never to be absorbed by either of the other powers.

(3) Each is intended to attain a separate end, and is exercised within certain limits.

(*a*) The Paternal is established for the life, nurture, and education of the individual, and is limited to the family.

(*b*) The Civil watches over and furthers the temporal interests and well-being of individuals and families, and is confined to the State.

(*c*) The Spiritual leads individuals, and families, and states to eternal happiness; its empire is the Church, and its sway is over souls.

(4) These powers, emanating from God, and having Him for common Centre and Principle, instead of being antagonistic, do mutually sustain each other if each will keep within its appointed domain.[1] Though each of these powers is distinct, and has its own special end to accomplish, yet it must never be forgotten they have intimate relations arising out of the final end for which all have been established—the salvation of men.

(5) The Spiritual Power is not only pre-eminent on account of its nobler end, and its greater empire, but also in its very nature; for having the supreme authority to instruct individuals and societies of men in the law of God, and to judge of the morality and justice of all actions, it is manifest this power is not only exercised directly in its own sphere, but likewise indirectly *over the actions* of the other two powers. In this sense, then, it is supreme, and the other powers are subordinate to it.

(6) The Church, as the representative of the Spiritual Power, and as the Guardian of the Divine Law,

(*a*) Can define the limits of her own powers, and consequently *ipso facto* those of the other powers.

(*b*) She does exercise indirectly her power *over*, though not *in*, the State by taking cognisance of the morality of its laws and acts;

(*c*) She does not intervene directly and absolutely in the duties of the State, the forms of government, the rights of citizens, civil regulations, and the like;

(*d*) And, lastly, she intervenes in the civil domain only so far as is necessary to save and sustain the Spiritual Power.

(7) To each of these powers must loyal, conscientious obedience be rendered, within the limits marked out by God. No human authority can bind conscience, unless such authority acts in conformity with the law of God. In case, then, of conflict between these powers, the individual must

[1] Vide *Le Pouvoir Politique*, par Ventura, p. 384.

follow conscience. But conscience needs instruction: who is to impart it? The Church, the Divine Teacher, say Catholics; Private Judgment, say Protestants. Both agree in asserting that conscience must be followed; but differ in the mode of instructing conscience. Mr. Gladstone ought, therefore, in common fairness, to have asserted that Catholics do render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; but that they learn what things *are* Cæsar's, not by the fallible authority of Private Judgment, but by the infallible voice of their Church.

4. But Mr. Gladstone feels much concern lest the power of the Pope should, in virtue of the Vatican Decrees, trespass on the civil domain. We need only remind him that after the decision of 1870 the field over which Infallibility extends was neither increased nor diminished; since, as before, the Church has held that 'politics, or the science which treats of the State, must necessarily, from its ethical character, present many points of contact with revealed truth. The principles on which it is based flow from the natural law. They can never, therefore, be in real contradiction with the precepts of the Divine and positive law. Hence the State, if it only remain true to its fundamental principles, must ever be in the completest harmony with the Church and Revelation. Now so long as this harmony continues, the Church has neither call nor right to interfere with the State, for earthly politics do not fall within her direct jurisdiction. The moment, however, the State becomes unfaithful to its principles, and contravenes the Divine and positive law, that moment it is the Church's right and duty, as guardian of revealed truth, to interfere, and to proclaim to the State the truths which it has ignored, and to condemn the erroneous maxims which it has adopted. Unhappily the State has too often given the Church occasion for interference, and false doctrines in politics have always found adherents, because they pandered to the greed of power and money, as well as to the abhorrence of control,

which are so deeply rooted in our fallen nature. In former days, when civil society was leavened with the principles of the Faith, the Church, by entering into direct communication with the rulers of different States, could often quietly impede the spread of error, and allay, by personal influence, the evil consequences arising from false principles of government. *But what was possible then is not possible now, when society is unchristianising itself more and more every day, and kings and statesmen habitually assume a position of open hostility or haughty distrust toward the Church.* Therefore of late years she has been forced to lift up her voice, and from the Chair of Peter to cry aloud to the faithful throughout the world, in accents of solemn warning, against the pernicious errors with which the political atmosphere is everywhere loaded.' [1]

The Divine law, doubtless, embraces all classes of men, princes and people, and all varieties of human actions, political as well as personal. The Chief Pastor of the Church is placed on His high eminence to proclaim the command of God, and in His name to instruct in Justice those that judge the earth. As expounder of the moral law, he speaks to all with power and authority, condemning all that God has forbidden, and inculcating the observance of each Divine commandment. He can cast forth from the Church every one, prince or subject, who is notoriously guilty of flagrant immorality, if he will not yield to paternal admonition. *But secular concerns are not, of themselves*, subject to his cognisance; and the complicated social relations which arise from the free acts of individuals, or from public law, or from the action of civil authorities, are not the matter of his judgment, unless they be submitted to him by those who are interested. If called on to declare their moral character he may judge of them by applying to them the Christian maxims, but he can pronounce sentence on such individuals only as are subject to his jurisdiction. In the Middle Ages kings

[1] *When does the Church speak infallibly?* by Fr. Knox, p. 70.

and nations implored his judgment, and consequently brought within the sphere of his authority those secular transactions and controversies of which otherwise he might have said, in the words of our Redeemer, to those who called for his interference, 'Who hath appointed me judge over you?'[1]

On the general question of the exercise of the Papal Power, Arnold writes:—'The principle in itself was this, whether the papal or the imperial, in other words, the sacerdotal or the imperial, power was to be accounted the greater. Now, conceive the papal power to be the representative of what is moral and spiritual, and the imperial power to represent only what is external and physical; conceive the first to express the ideas of responsibility to God and paternal care and guidance, while the other was the mere embodying of selfish might, like the old Greek tyrannies; and who can do other than wish success to the papal cause? Who can help being, with all his heart, a Guelf? But in the early part of the struggle this was, to a great extent, the state of it; the Pope stood in the place of the Church, the Emperor was a merely worldly despot, corrupt and arbitrary.'[2]

Thus it was there grew up, under the auspices of the Church in Europe, after the conquest of the Western Empire by the barbarians, a system of public law, *jus publicum*, founded on the principles of natural justice, which all Christian nations were bound to recognise and observe. This system, regulating the relations of sovereign and subject, and nation and nation, was placed under the protection and arbitratorship of the Pope, as the divinely appointed representative and guardian of the moral order. It created a Christendom, and united all Christian nations in a sort of confederated republic, with the Pope for its president or supreme chief. Individual princes, more or less powerful,

[1] *Primacy of the Apostolic See*, p. 339.

[2] *Introductory Lectures on Modern History*, Lecture V.

might frequently transgress this law, and commit acts of great violence and gross barbarity; but these were never defended on principle—their conduct was understood to be exceptional, illegal, criminal, and the public sentiment of Christendom condemned them. Society was founded on a moral basis, under the safeguard of Religion, and the Power was regarded, by whomsoever held, as bound by all the restraints of the moral law, the transcript of the eternal law residing in the eternal reason or will of God.[1]

'Certainly nothing so hampered the free working of the lawless and arbitrary spirit of feudalism as the existence of system in the Church. Nations and their rulers could not feel that moral irresponsibility which they have since gained. They were members of Christendom as well as distinct political bodies; united as Christians to others, and accountable as Christians to the whole Church. There was a standard recognised by all, higher than that of political expediency; a commonly acknowledged law, able to reach and visit crimes, which national laws were ready to screen or were too weak to punish. There was an appeal from all earthly tribunals to one not merely higher, but different in kind. An appeal to the See of Rome was not only virtually an appeal to the whole of Christendom, *it was also an appeal to the Judgment-seat of our Lord*.'[2]

Catholic civilisation is now broken up, and very extensively discarded, not only in practice, but even in principle, by the greater part of European nations, whether we speak of sovereigns or people; and a new political system has been introduced in its place—a system that emancipates Power not only from the authority of the Church, or the Pope, as the Father and Chief of the Christian Republic, but from all the restraints of the moral order. The new political system holds itself entirely independent both of religion and morality, and recognises in the political order no

[1] *Brownson's Review*, April, 1860, p. 207.
[2] *British Critic*, LXV., p. 36.

law for sovereigns or people but reasons of state or simple expediency. It rejects all moral basis for society, and founds politics on the simple law of force. It rests on the principle that might gives right, or that right is always on the side of the strongest, and takes it for granted that the weak are always in the wrong. This system was always more or less acted on in practice, but it is now adopted in principle deliberately and theoretically, by both sovereigns and people.

The consequence of this rejection of the old papal system and the adoption of the new political system—which is rightly named political atheism—is that Europe has receded from Christian civilisation and fallen into moral anarchy. Authority has lost its moral hold on princes and people, and the noble sentiment of loyalty has well-nigh become extinct, or come to be regarded as a folly or a vice. Power has emancipated itself from all moral restraints, and ceases to have any support in the affections or consciences of the people. Usurpation and revolution are held to be legitimate and sacred when successful.[1]

Mr. Gladstone's assertion that the deposing power has been exercised by Popes and Councils is freely admitted by Catholics. He has cited several instances, none of which perhaps is more remarkable than the deposition of the Emperor Henry IV. by Gregory the Great. Henry IV.'s crimes had alienated the affection of his subjects, who wished to elect Rudolf of Suabia in his stead. They urged the Pope, St. Gregory VII., to depose Henry. The Pope in vain exhorted him to amend his life and to make reparation for the many scandals he had given. At last the hardened and sacrilegious Emperor declared the Pope himself to be deposed by a council of his own partisans. St. Gregory now consented to act as the Supreme Judge of Christendom, and pronounced the sentence of deposition against the Emperor. The sentence begins with the following words:—

[1] *Brownson's Review*, April, 1860, p. 208.

'Beate Petre Princeps Apostolorum et tu beate Paule Doctor gentium dignamini quæso aures vestras ad me inclinare meque clementer exaudire. Quia veritatis estis discipuli et amatores, adjuvate ut veritatem vobis dicam omni remotâ falsitate quam omnino detestamini ut fratres mei melius mihi acquiescant, et sciant et intelligant quia ex vestrâ fiduciâ, post Dominum et matrem Ejus semper Virginem Mariam pravis et iniquis resisto, vestris autem fidelibus auxilium præsto.' The question between Henry and Rudolf is stated and Henry's public crimes are recited; after which St. Gregory continues: 'Considens de judicio et misericordiâ Dei Ejusque piissimæ matris semper Virginis Mariæ, fultus vestrâ auctoritate, etc. Regnum Teutonicum et Italiæ ex parte omnipotentis Dei et vestrâ interdicens ei, omnem potestatem et dignitatem illi regiam tollo.'[1]

Another very marked instance of the action of the deposing Power is the case of the Emperor Frederic II., deposed by Innocent IV. in the Thirteenth General Council held at Lyons in 1245. In the Seventh Canon of that Council occur these words:—

'Nos itaque super præmissis, quam pluribus aliis ejus nefandis excessibus cum fratribus nostris, et sacri concilii deliberatione præhabita diligenti, cum Jesu Christi vices, licet immeriti, teneamus in terris, nobisque in B. Petri peasona sit dictum: Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in cœlis, et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in cœlis; memoratum principem, qui se imperio et regnis omniumque honore et dignitate reddidit tam indignum, quippe propter suas iniquitates ne regnet vel imperet est abjectus, suis ligatum peccatis, et abjectum, omnique honore et dignitate privatum a Domino ostendimus, denunciamus, et nihilominus sententiando privamus. Omnes qui ei juramento fidelitatis tenentur adstricti a juramento absolventes auctoritate Apostolica firmiter inhibendo, ne quisquam de cætero sibi tanquam imperatori vel regi pareat, vel intendat.'[2]

These two cases are specimens of the action of the Power in question. It may now be interesting to our readers to have some account of the principles on which it was claimed, and on which its claims were submitted by our forefathers.

[1] *Acta S. Gregorii*, p. 816 (Migne).
[2] *Hardouin*, vol. vii. p. 386.

His present Holiness has done this so concisely that we cannot do better than to cite his words. On the 20th July, 1871, Pope Pius IX. received a deputation from the Academy of the Catholic religion. He exhorted the deputies to refute with all possible care the assertions of those who endeavored to misrepresent the meaning of the Infallibility of the Pope, and he declared that it was a pernicious error to represent the Infallibility as involving the right of deposing Sovereigns and absolving nations from their oath of fidelity. 'This right,' he said, 'has indeed *in extreme circumstances* been exercised by the Popes; but *it has absolutely nothing in common with Papal Infallibility*. It was a consequence of the public law then in force, and of the consent of Christian nations, who recognised in the Pope *the Supreme Judge of Christendom*, and *constituted him judge over princes and people*, even in temporal matters. Now the present state of things is altogether different. Objects so different and epochs so little similar can only be confounded by bad faith; as if an infallible judgment pronounced on a revealed truth had any analogy with a right which the Popes, called upon by the desire of the nations, were bound to exercise when the general good required it. Affirmations of this kind are but a pretext to excite Princes against the Church.' The approbation given by Pius IX. to the Pastoral of the Swiss Bishops, in which this declaration is inserted, assures us of its authenticity.

From these words and the instances we have cited we may gather:—

(*a*) That the Pope, as Vicar of Christ, is, 'by the authority given to Peter,' *jure divino* Supreme Judge of Christendom in all things spiritual, and consequently that he has the power of pronouncing on the moral character of any action done by individuals or nations.

(*b*) That, in consequence of this divine and indefeasible right, in the days when all the States of Europe were Catholic, they appealed to the Pope to be the Supreme Judge

and Arbiter in civil matters. Thus did the Holy See acquire a right over the nations *jure humano.*

(*c*) That the Deposing Power was put in force for the general good; and only when other means had failed to suppress the injustice, the tyranny, and the wickedness of Sovereigns.

The direct and indirect powers which were acquired *jure divino* still continue in full vigor, for what was given by God cannot be taken away by man; but that which was given by human right can alter, and does alter, in different circumstances. Many of the countries of Christendom are now rent away from their allegiance to the Holy See; the bonds which united them to the Chair of St. Peter are broken; the powers of Europe no longer appeal to the Pope to compose their differences; his office of arbiter is at an end, or at least in abeyance. Nations seek other arbiters or resort to force of arms to settle their disputes. We will not affirm that the world is the happier or the better for the change.

The grounds of the Deposing Power are treated with fulness and clearness by Archbishop Kenrick, in a valuable work from which we extract the following:[1]—

'The principles on which they (the Popes) acted were distinctly stated by Innocent III., when Philip of France resisted his interference to stop the ravages of war between him and Richard Cœur de Lion. Disclaiming distinctly all right *to judge of the title to the fief* in dispute, he insisted that he was authorised to take away the privileges of ecclesiastical communion from a prince *who wantonly shed human blood*, whilst he could obtain his just demands by amicable arbitration. "No one doubts," he says, "that it belongs to our office *to judge of the things which appertain to the salvation or damnation of the soul.* Is it not deserving of eternal damnation, and of the loss of eternal life, to nourish discord, to attack those who are of the household of the faith, to destroy religious establishments, to give over to pillage the property destined for the wants and advantage of religious men, to oppress virgins consecrated to God?" . . . "Hearken, then, dearly beloved son,

[1] *The Primacy of the Apostolic See*, p. 351 *et passim.*

not to our word, but rather to the word of the Word, which was in the beginning with God, and which finally was made flesh, and dwelt among us: 'If thy brother sin against thee, go and reprove him between him and thee alone. If he will not hear thee, take with thee two or three, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand. But if he will not hear them, tell the Church; and if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican.' Behold! the King of England, your brother, brother not by carnal kindred, but in the unity of faith, complains that you sin against him, and stretch forth your hands to injure him, as you have already done. He has rebuked you already between him and you alone, both by letters and by word of mouth, not once, but frequently, and warned you to desist from injuring him. He has taken with him not merely two or three witnesses, but many nobles, to renew the bonds of peace which were broken, and to use their influence to induce you to desist from wrong. But inasmuch as hitherto he has not succeeded with your Highness, he has denounced you to the Church as sinning against him; and the Church has chosen to address you with maternal affection, rather than *to use her judicial power*, and therefore she has not authoritatively rebuked you, but mildly admonished you to desist from injuring your brother, and to make with him a lasting peace, or at least a truce. What, then, remains, if you refuse to hear the Church, as hitherto you have refused, but, what it pains us to say, to regard you as a heathen and a publican, and to shun you after the first and second rebuke? If we must offend either you or God, we choose rather to appease Him, although we incur your displeasure, than please an earthly king by offending the Divine Ruler. Shall we hesitate to proceed according to the commandment of the Lord, when we shall have more fully investigated the case, and ascertained the truth? Shall we dissemble the carnage of bodies and ruin of souls, and *not declare to the wicked their impiety, and restrain the violent from outrage?*"'

6. Mr. Gladstone asserts that 'the Rome of the Middle Ages claimed universal monarchy,' and that 'the modern Church of Rome has abandoned nothing, retracted nothing.'

It is perfectly true that the Church has retracted nothing—truth cannot retract: the gifts which our Divine Lord bestowed on His Church are with her still, and therefore of her we say, what can be said of no earthly thing, she is *semper eadem*.

But the deduction which Mr. Gladstone would have us

draw from this ancient claim and from the unchanging nature of the Church is quite erroneous; for although the Church is the same, yet the kingdoms of Christendom have undergone many changes since the Middle Ages.

We have shown that certain direct and indirect powers belong to the Church *jure divino*, and that indirect powers already held by her in this manner were also directly conferred on her by the consent of Catholic nations, and so became hers *jure humano*. Some of these nations are no longer Catholic, and that which depended on their action as Catholic states, and which belonged to the Church *jure humano*, has now ceased to exist.

In dealing with the relation of the different kingdoms of Christendom to the Holy See during the Middle Ages, St. Thomas Aquinas makes use of a happy illustration. He likens each kingdom to a ship, and its king to the pilot; the various kingdoms together to one squadron, and the Holy See to the admiral's ship, with the sovereign Pontiff as its pilot, directing the whole flotilla. Each pilot receives orders from him, and follows in the wake of his ship, that he may reach the port to which all are bound. It was held in those days as no mere theory, but a practical principle of action, that each king ought to care for the eternal salvation of his people by commanding that which might promote it, and forbidding that which might impede it; and that the Pope could guide him in the performance of this duty, just as the admiral directs the captains, of the ships which compose his fleet.

It would not be difficult to cite from the Canons instances in which the Church claims the position to which Mr. Gladstone alludes, for those Canons covered not only the powers which she possessed *jure divino*, but also those rights which, as we have seen, were conferred on her by the consent of Catholic Christendom.

That which had its origin in the will of man has indeed been taken away from the Church. Her monarchy is now

over souls alone; here her sway is the same as it has ever been: its object is to bring men into subjection to the law of Christ, and to make them meet for the enjoyment of His heavenly kingdom.

VII.

CONCLUSION.

We have not attempted to answer all the charges that Mr. Gladstone has brought against the Church of God and its members. Every page of his pamphlet bristles with insults and misrepresentations. While he protests against Papal Infallibility, he would have us accept his dictum as final. He speaks of 'morbid spiritual appetites,' and would be better pleased if the Holy Father would restrict his dominion to the unseen world. The Holy Father and his advisers are the 'astute contrivers of a tangled scheme.' He hints at projects of re-establishing the 'terrestrial throne of the Popedom, even if it can only be re-erected on the ashes of the city, and amidst the whitening bones of the people.'

We have not noticed each one of these and many other insults separately; our aim has been rather to follow the chief lines of the argument, and to meet the different points on which those who have fewer opportunities and means of information than Mr. Gladstone might be misled by his statements. We must leave it to the candor of our readers to judge whether 'a change in the constitution of the Latin Church has taken place'; whether she ought to give up the 'proud boast of *semper eadem*'; and 'whether she has in any way altered the duty of civil allegiance by the Vatican Decrees.'

There is nothing to surprise us, as Catholics, in this outburst of storm against the Church of Christ. It is but the

old story. As He was, so is His Church in the world. He was accused of stirring up the people, of perverting the nation, of forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, of saying that He was Christ the King: the Jews urged Pilate on to crucify Him, saying, 'If thou let this man go thou art not Cæsar's friend. For whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar.' 'We have no king but Cæsar,' was their cry. That Mr. Gladstone made his 'Expostulation' for some political purpose can scarcely be doubted. If that purpose were to increase the confidence placed in him by his fellow-countrymen, judging by the tone of the Press, we hardly think he has been successful.

Among the numerous letters and articles which have been evoked by his recent publication, a letter from Mr. Frederick Harrison to the 'New York Herald' is one of the most striking. This letter gives in so clear and forcible a manner the views of a well-known Positivist, who, as his letter shows, has no sympathy with Catholicism, that we cannot refrain from placing it in its entirety before our readers:—

'The revival of a subject which is purely one of technical theology is at the present time a piece of mere mischief.

'The Pope's Infallibility is a matter entirely between the Pope and his own people.

'The Catholic priesthood in England is one of the most industrious, respectable, and peaceable in the world, and the very little political power it wields has long been exerted to national and liberal ends. In Ireland the priesthood has far greater power; but it has been using it to check, not to fan, the insurrectionary movement. It is therefore most wanton for English politicians to worry a Church like this about mere casuistical difficulties in its theology; and all theologies are full of such difficulties. This may be sensational literature, but it is not statesmanship.

'To tell a Church that it is never to meddle with politics, never to teach a duty different from that approved by the Government of the day, is to tell it that it is not to be a religious community at all, but a Government bureau on a par with the official gazette. There is no religious community, no moral or intellectual association, which would

honestly accept these terms. And it would be easy to push any religionist into similar logical dilemmas by using hypothetical cases. Quakers object to war, therefore the Society of Friends will turn traitors to an enemy; therefore Mr. Bright is unworthy of political trust. The Cobden Club swears by the doctrines of Mr. Cobden; one of these doctrines was to surrender the Colonies: therefore the Cobden Club might be found plotting the dismemberment of the Empire. Exeter Hall denounced the opium war; some of our civil and military officers are under the inspiration of Exeter Hall: therefore we may expect them to desert to the enemy in a possible war with China. These exercises of irritating logic are as easy as they are puerile. If every opinion a man may hold is to be followed out to what we think its logical result, and every man is to be supposed in any dilemma which our ingenuity can frame, every man is a rebel. If Mr. Disraeli and the Archbishop of Canterbury succeed in passing an Act to burn every copy of the Bible, Mr. Newdegate and Mr. Whalley would be preaching sedition and heading a rebellion. If they passed an Act abolishing in Anglican churches vestments, crosses, fonts and organs, rubrics, prayer-books and hymn-books, Mr. Gladstone would be raging about the country as the Hugh Peters of a new rebellion. No religious body whatever, no association of citizens, ever would, or ever ought, to bind itself beforehand to passive obedience; and it is a mere bit of clap-trap to call upon the Catholics of England to surrender in terms a right which, perhaps, they would be the last people in this country to exercise in deed.

'The hubbub about the Vatican Decrees is silly mimicry of this flagrant aggression of the military bureaucracy of Prussia. Though no man can have less sympathy than I have with the historical pretensions of the Vatican, or can more heartily detest the intellectual and political aims of Catholicism in Europe, I cannot but regard the Catholic side in this controversy as being, in its broad features, the side of liberty and moral independence.'

Whether the Liberal party sanction the deed of their leader or think they have anything to gain from the Philippic which he has directed against Catholics we know not. Assuredly an attitude of suspicion is not one calculated to generate confidence. Loyalty will not be intensified by offensive charges. One thing at least has been effected by the 'Expostulation.' English Catholics have had their eyes fully opened to the fact that Mr. Gladstone's liberalism is very closely related to the liberalism of Prince Bismarck.

We may now part company with the right honorable author, and assure him, and through him the public, that if her Most Gracious Majesty is at any time in danger from enemies abroad or at home, amongst none of her subjects will she find men more willing to shed their blood in defence of the Throne and Constitution than amongst those Catholics who are most loyal in their devotion to the Holy See, who most steadfastly hold every doctrine of the Church, and most heartily accept the condemnations of the Syllabus.

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